HUMAN EVENTS

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News Section *Printed in Two Sections*

As Seen From Washington: Peron has fallen. But — Washington wants to know — what has happened to that dictator's real base of power — Labor? Foreign affairs experts in the Capital refer to Peron as the "Reuther of Latin America" and remind us that the Argentine *caudillo* established his power on the solid foundation of his control of the labor movement. Although its leader is gone, that formidable organization of the "shirtless ones" remains. Therefore — so runs the opinion — it is doubtful that the Argentine federation of labor will diminish in importance and it is possible that the new man, General Lonardi, may play the same game as Peron.

● Much ado in Capital social circles about the British spies — Maclean and Burgess — both of whom were well known in cafe society here, when they worked in the British Embassy in the post-war years. The British Government has just officially confirmed that the two were Soviet spies right along and evidence shows they had made available secret documents to the Red espionage ring. What isn't mentioned in current news accounts is the homosexual angle. For details see a book now circulating in Washington — *The Missing Macleans*, by Geoffrey Hoare, Viking Press. The connection between the Red International and the Homosexual International was first revealed in this country by HUMAN EVENTS, in "The Homosexual International," by Countess Waldeck, April 16, 1952.

● Travelling diplomats, just arrived here, report wide newspaper coverage in West Germany of sensational incidents not reported in the U. S. press. They say the German press tells of French Foreign Legion soldiers who desert rather than fight the independence movement in French Morocco. Many of these Legionnaires are Germans. The German press reports that when French transports stopped at Alexandria, Legionnaires jumped off and swam to shore, seeking political asylum in Egypt.

● Air Force circles laugh at the Soviet gesture of withdrawing from the Finnish military base of Porkkala. It's no real concession, they say; that base is virtually useless to the Finns or any enemies of the Soviet Union, for it is completely blanketed by Soviet air power.

● Much discussion in Washington about the press campaign by the one-worlders which gives the impression that the American Legion now endorses UNESCO. The internationalists have recently spread the news of a report of a special Legion subcommittee, headed by Ray Murphy, which whitewashes UNESCO; this news made it seem that the Legion Executive Committee approved the Murphy report. It did not do so. The matter will be threshed out at the Legion convention next month at Miami. Meanwhile for full details of the Legion-UNESCO imbroglio write to Representative Gross (Republican, Iowa), House Office Building, for his speech giving the facts.

● White House assistant General Persons — we learn — recently called on Senator Jenner of Indiana and sought to persuade him to repudiate his 1949 speech attacking General George C. Marshall as the gravedigger of American policy in Asia. Persons reportedly told the Indiana Senator that a federal judgeship appointment would be made easier if Jenner retracted his famous speech. Jenner flatly refused.

New York Politics: In the Empire State GOP clubs, there is much talk about candidates for Senator next year. If Democratic Senator Lehman runs, one of the three following figures may oppose him:

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(1) Former Governor Thomas E. Dewey. If he wants the GOP Senatorial nomination, he can have it, that's certain. In that case it will be regarded as a warning that he wants to run for President again in 1960.

(2) Some talk about GOP National Chairman Leonard Hall — he's the favorite of the conservative wing. However, it is rumored that Mrs. Hall opposes the idea — another wife, they say, who doesn't like living in Washington.

(3) The big engima is about the candidature of New York's Attorney General Jacob Javits, who beat Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr., in 1954 and was the only statewide GOP winner. He's a top possibility to take on Lehman. Already, it is reported that he has a campaign blueprint — a Dr. Jekyll-Mr. Hyde act. In up-state New York where he is suspect, he would run as a simon-pure Republican. But in New York, his supporters would play him up quite differently — they would claim, and correctly, that during his terms in Congress he proved by his voting record that he was a stronger New Dealer than any Democrat.

However, it is not widely known that Javits' secret ambition is to become Mayor of New York City. Hence, if Lehman should refuse to run as Senator, and the present Democratic Mayor of New York, Bob Wagner, should be the Democratic Senatorial candidate, Javits may not seek any new office in 1956. He would wait until 1957, and then run for Mayor.

For An Effective Congress: Among conservatives — Democratic and Republican — there is a growing feeling that some special organized effort should be made to elect conservative congressional candidates in next year's general election, regardless of who may head the Republican and Democratic tickets. They argue that to run a Third Party candidate is too cumbersome and costly a course, that sufficient funds would be lacking and the obstacles put in the way by the regular organizations of the two major parties are too difficult to hurdle. (However, a good deal of study and furious thinking is still going on about such a course, and many right-wingers have not abandoned it.)

Some conservatives take a view which was expressed in an article by Edna Lonigan in HUMAN EVENTS on August 6, 1952, entitled "Islands of Freedom." The author described how a "ruling group" had taken control of the two major parties with the object of creating "One Party Government," regardless of the party label. The only barrier to this trend, said Miss Lonigan, is the Congress. "The answer to the One-Party Presidency is not a different President, but a different Congress." Only an independent, constitutionally-minded Congress can organize, form a legal opposition and thwart the plans of the "One Party" totalitarians.

This view appeals to many observers in Washington who have long watched the unofficial coalition of conservatives, North and South. For instance, that group passed the Taft-Hartley Act and through many sessions of Congress prevented its repeal. It is noted that the "liberals" have a "Committee for an Effective Congress" operating for the past five years, taking part in elections in the constituencies and backing either a Democrat or Republican depending on his record. Many conservatives believe that this kind of pattern should be followed by them in the coming year — to defeat Wayne Morse, re-elect Senator Herman Welker (Idaho) or Eugene Millikin (Colorado), or to replace Senator Flanders (Vermont) with a real Republican. This, they claim, offers the more practicable way to restore the two-party system and constitutional government.

Your Christmas Gifts: Companies and individuals, now making up their Christmas gift lists, should give consideration to HUMAN EVENTS — the gift that inspires a special thrill of appreciation 52 times a year. Two or more 3-month subscriptions, $2.50 each; two or more 6-month subscriptions, $5; 2 or more annual subscriptions, $9 each. A gift card, in your name, will accompany the first issue of the gift subscription. To make sure the card is properly inscribed, please indicate just how the inscription should read. A $60 order entitles you to a free bound and indexed volume of HUMAN EVENTS for 1955 (regular price, $15). Unless otherwise stated, the first issue — with your gift card — will be the December 17 issue reaching suscribers the week before Christmas.

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Congressional Roll of Honor: Who are the members of Congress meriting the support or deserving the opposition of Conservatives?

The Americans for Democratic Action (ADA) — dominated by Walter Reuther, James B. Carey, Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr., Hubert Humphrey, Elmer Davis, *et al* — has just issued a rating of the members of Congress. Since the ADA believes that the solution to all social problems is to increase federal spending and to expand the power of union leaders and the executive branch of the government, those who believe the opposite — that "the history of liberty is the history of the limitations of governmental power, not the increase of it" (Woodrow Wilson) — will reverse the ADA ratings. On that basis, the Congress membership would be rated as follows:

Senate Roll of Honor (100 percent anti-ADA): One Democrat—Thurmond—and 19 Republicans—Barrett, Bricker, Bridges, Butler, Capehart, Curtis, Dworshak, Goldwater, Hruska, Jenner, Knowland, Malone, Martin (Pa.), Millikin, Mundt, McCarthy, Schoeppel, Welker, Young.

High-Rated Republicans (87.5 percent anti-ADA): Cotton, Allott, Case (S.D.), Dirksen, Hickenlooper, Watkins, Williams, Martin (Ia.).

High-Rated Democrats (77.2 percent anti-ADA): Byrd, Robertson, Bible, Russell, Ellender, Holland, Eastland, McClellan.

Lowest-Rated Democrats: Continuing downward, by libertarian standards: Stennis, Daniel, Frear, Ervin, Kerr, George, Long, Pastore, Anderson, Chavez, Smathers, Green, Monroney, Scott, Clements, Johnson, Kennedy, Hayden, Hill, Johnston, Gore, O'Mahoney, Mansfield, Barkley, Fulbright, Magnuson, Neely, Sparkman, Symington, Murray, Hennings, Neuberger, Douglas, Jackson, Kilgore, Morse, McNamara, Humphrey, Kefauver, Lehman.

The last four voted 100 percent as dictated by ADA and the previous four (Douglas, Jackson, Kilgore and Morse) voted 90 percent. Senator George — rated only a few years ago as a conservative — gets a higher rating from ADA than any Republican except Langer.

Lowest-Rated Republicans: Continuing downward by libertarian standards: Bennett, Carlson, Kuchel, Payne, Saltonstall, Smith (N.J.), Thye, Bender, Potter, Purtell, Wiley, Aiken, Beall, Bush, Flanders, Smith (Me.), Case (N.J.), Ives, Duff, Langer.

House Roll of Honor: Nine Democrats and 20 Republicans are listed as 100 percent anti-ADA. *Democrats:* Haley of Florida; Landrum of Georgia; Williams of Mississippi; Chatham, Alexander, Jones and Shuford of North Carolina; and Fisher and Dies of Texas. *Republicans:* McVey, Hoffman, Reed and Mason of Illinois; Beamer of Indiana; Nelson of Maine; Nicholson of Massachusetts; Hoffman and Thompson of Michigan; O'Hara of Minnesota; Gwinn and Miller of New York; McCulloch, Clevenger, Betts, Henderson and McGregor of Ohio; Bush and Gavin of Pennsylvania; and Alger of Texas.

Labor: A state right-to-work law prohibiting compulsory unionism remains effective despite the Federal Labor Act authorizing the union shop, the Nebraska Supreme Court has held. In Hanson vs. Union Pacific, the court said: "To work for a living in the occupations available in a community is the very essence of personal freedom and opportunity that it was one of the purposes of these amendments to make secure. Liberty means more than freedom from servitude. The constitutional guarantees are our assurance that the citizen will be protected in the right to use his powers of mind and body in any lawful calling. . . . The Federal act infringes upon their (the workers') freedom. . . . The Federal act infringes upon freedom . . . because it is apparent that some of these labor organizations advocate political ideas, support political candidates, and advance national economic concepts which may or may not be of an employee's choice."

With respect to the unions' "free rider" argument, the court stated that "to require all employees receiving benefits from collective bargaining agreements to pay the labor organizations obtaining them initiation fees, dues, and assessments is to require them to make contributions to any and all the varied objects and undertakings in which such labor organizations are or may become engaged and which have no substantial relation to the object here sought to be obtained."

Education Front: In Washington, those who oppose Federal aid to schools, are looking toward the meeting here (in December) of the White House Conference on Education. It is widely believed that this gathering has been designed to provide a sounding board for massive expenditures by the Federal Government for educational aid to the states. Now, from Indiana, there comes an indication that the White House loudspeaker may register some quite different sentiments from out in the country.

A committee of educators and citizens in Indiana, formed to explore the school building situation in that state, now makes an interesting report, which finds "that Indiana can provide classrooms for its children without resorting to Federal aid" — so reports the Indianapolis *Star* on September 14. Paul C. Garrison, superintendent of schools in Richmond, Indiana, cited the Memorial School Fund law passed by the 1955 Legislature, making an estimated $13,500,000 from the World War II bonus fund available for building loans to school units which have exhausted their bonding power. Only about two-thirds of the initial appro-

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priation for this fund, $5,000,000 for the first year, will be needed to meet the first year's approved applications for help.

The *Star* envisages the Indiana delegation taking this news to the White House conference, perhaps with delegations from other states producing similar ideas and suggestions. "Then, the White House conference would be a forum in which the states could help each other to find ways to meet and solve their school problems," says the *Star*. "They could also help each other to retain traditional state responsibility and independence in the field of education."

Book Event: John T. Flynn's new work, *The Decline of the American Republic — And How to Rebuild It* (Devin-Adair, New York), has just hit the stands with a 10,000 copy pre-publication sale, a 20,000 sale due within a few weeks, and then the "sky's the limit," as they say in publishers row in New York. All this despite the usual conspiracy of the "liberal" book reviewers and one-world zealots to check it. Book people recall how Devin-Adair had to buy advertising space in a New York paper, to run a review of Flynn's book, *The Roosevelt Myth* (1948), which had already appeared in HUMAN EVENTS. The New York paper would not review the volume, which later sold over 100,000 copies. (Flynn's new book, *The Decline of the American Republic — And How To Rebuild It*, is priced at $3.00 per copy. Copies may be obtained from HUMAN EVENTS.)

Reform By Amendment: The newly-formed Campaign for the Forty-Eight States offers a detailed program, designed to save income taxes, to limit the power of Congress to spend, to preserve the free enterprise system from socialism, to decentralize the Federal Government. Memphis businessman Robert B. Snowden is Chairman of the body. The campaign is for passage of five proposed constitutional amendments as follows:

(1) The Reed-Dirksen Amendment. To eliminate to a large extent the heavy progressive rate feature from our income tax system without impairing the power of Congress to raise revenue. This amendment limits the top rate of income taxes, but permits Congress to exceed the limit by a three-fourths vote.

(2) Byrd-Bridges Amendment. To require annual budget balancing by limiting congressional appropriations in any fiscal year to the estimated receipts of the Government for the fiscal year, except in times of dire emergency to be determined by three-fourths vote of the Congress.

(3) Mundt-Coudert Amendment. To reform the electoral college by choosing electors by congressional districts plus two at large to correspond with each state's two United States senators. This amendment is designed to take away excessive power now exercised by the minority groups in the larger cities under the present electoral college system.

(4) Reed-Walter Amendment. To give to the states full power to amend the Constitution without the intervention of Congress.

(5) Bricker Amendment. To prevent the overriding of our Constitution and our domestic law by means of the treaty power.

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Letter from GEORGE A. GARRETT, Former Ambassador to Ireland: "In the light of past events, a growing number of men and women are beginning to think seriously of the future of America and the preservation of our inherent liberties. Most of our patriotic people are unused to the ways of Washington. For them HUMAN EVENTS is a *must publication* because it provides its subscribers with the 'News Behind the News' in the Nation's Capital."

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Article Section

FUND FOR WHICH REPUBLIC?

By RUSSELL TURNER

ACCUMULATING evidence of the ultra-liberalism and blatant anti-anti-Communism of the $15,000,000 tax-free Fund For The Republic has spawned a new gag line appended by some to any mention of the organization's name: "Which Republic?"

The evidence, accumulated during the Fund's 2½ years of actual operation, shows conclusively that its true objectives are to convince gullibles that the domestic Communist menace is and always has been a myth, to stop any effective investigations of Red operations and influences, and to smother anti-Communism wherever it may crop up.

The evidence is that it would put an end to every form of personnel security program, in or out of government; that it would have the country accept at face value the self-appraisal of the Communist Party, U.S.A., as simply a domestic political movement, despite legislative, executive and judicial findings that it is a subversive conspiracy directed from Moscow and designed to overthrow our government.

Officials of the Fund For The Republic say its purpose is to determine, and report to the people on, the status of civil rights and liberties guaranteed them by the Constitution, and to seek the removal of any restrictions on those rights and liberties.

But the proof herein lies in deeds, not in platitudinous protestations. And the free-wheeling, ofttimes devious deeds of the Fund's officials with its 15 million tax-free dollars do not jibe with their words.

Many of the deeds are listed in the recently-issued Report of Fund President Robert Maynard Hutchins with carefully-chosen, high-sounding descriptions. The glamor disappears, however, when the page is lifted for a look under the surface.

Two of its most enlightening sections are its list of grants, and its list of "books, articles and other materials" which has been distributed by the Fund For The Republic.

IT IS HERE, for instance, that is found evidence of the Fund's faith in Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer and its refusal to accept the thrice-tested verdict that he is not a good security risk. Proudly, it tells of distributing, widely, film prints of the controversial Edward R. Murrow's biased TV interview effort to present the physicist as a kindly, benign, unfairly-wronged individual whose sole purpose is to improve the lot of mankind. With equal pride, it tells of purchasing and distributing 25,000 copies of a special issue of the Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists — an issue devoted entirely to defending Oppenheimer, who by coincidence was Chairman of the Bulletin's own Board of Sponsors, and to attacking the loyalty-security program in general.

Here, too, is noted the Fund's distribution to lawyers and judges throughout the country of 35,000 copies of "The Fifth Amendment Today," by Erwin N. Griswold, Harvard Law School Dean, who by another coincidence is a Director of the Fund For The Republic. The book is a thinly-disguised propaganda argument that any wit-

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ness is entitled to invoke the Fifth Amendment without having any inference drawn of possible hidden guilt.

Last month, the *Fordham Law Review* printed an article by C. Dickerman Williams, one of the New York's more highly esteemed attorneys. Specifically taking issue with the Griswold thesis, it advances the traditional legal concept that no witness can properly invoke the Fifth Amendment unless he honestly fears his testimony might incriminate him, and that any witness pleading the Fifth Amendment therefore can properly be assumed to have something to hide.

The Fund, always anxious to hide its complete one-sidedness and thus protect its prized tax-exempt status, and having purchased 35,000 copies of the Griswold opus, bought the munificent total of 1000 reprints of the Williams article. The ratio would be about par for the Fund: 35 parts anti-anti-Communism, one part anti-Communism.

Aside from one article having to do with racial segregation in housing projects, each of the 17 works listed as having been distributed under Fund For The Republic aegis represents an attack on some phase or facet of the overall loyalty-security program. It lists, for example, 25,000 reprints of a *Harper's* Magazine article by Richard H. Rovere titled "The Kept Witnesses" which, as its name implies, castigates the use of former Communists as witnesses in loyalty-security proceedings; 25,000 copies of "Faceless Informers and Our Schools," by Lawrence Martin, a scaresome piece intended to show that teachers are too intimidated to teach properly; and other items of similar ilk.

ANENT THE Report's list of grants, a fuller knowledge of the unreported background is essential to comprehension of its full significance. As an example, there is listed an innocuous-sounding item of $25,000 to the Stanford University School of Law "for an analysis of testimony of witnesses in proceedings relative to Communism."

This one is a project which the Fund tried to peddle to several highly-respected Eastern universities, including Georgetown here in Washington, but without success because the universities apparently realized the true purpose of the project. That purpose is to do a discrediting job on 10 of the more prominent reformed Communists, including Louis Budenz and Elizabeth Bentley, who have talked freely about their past Red associates and associations.

The Stanford arrangement finally was concluded with the Law School's Dean, Carl B. Spaeth, who as you might expect is widely known as an ultra-liberal. Another coincidence: Spaeth for two years was a high official of the Ford Foundation, itself the sire of the Fund For The Republic through its no-strings-attached $15,000,000 grant.

The Fund itself will have effective control of the Stanford project, since it is to be directed by Herbert Packer, a Fund payrollee who worked for several months earlier this year on the highly-questionable Yarmolinsky report on individual loyalty security case histories, another Fund project.

The Association of the Bar of the City of New York has been granted $100,000 "for a study and report by the Special Committee on the Federal Loyalty-Security program." The Fund's liaison man with this special committee, who in effect will supervise its work, is Walter Millis. In a televised debate on September 11, Millis said flatly that it was not the procedures of the loyalty-security program to which he objected, it was the entire program. The Fund intimates the forthcoming Report will be unbiased and objective.

Under projects is listed a $200,000 appropriation for a television series comprising a

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once-a-week news commentary by Herbert Block, the *Washington Post's* notoriously prejudiced cartoonist. Just what qualifies "Herblock" to be a commentator eludes me, but the affinity of the Fund for the ultra-liberal philosophies expressed in his cartoons over the years is obvious; the TV show will be a nice financial token of its esteem.

Space limitations do not permit further detailed examination of the Report, but the cited examples are quite typical of the tenor of all grants and projects. However, one further item should be noted: a $50,000 grant to the American Heritage Council, a somewhat dubious Chicago set-up which trades on the good name of the estimable American Heritage Foundation, for "a two-year program dealing with the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution, in cooperation with the Illinois Department of the American Legion."

In this one, the program actually is praiseworthy, assuming proper administration, but the effort of the Fund to tie itself in with the American Legion and use the Legion's good reputation is something else again. It develops that the project never has been approved by the Illinois Legion's convention or even its Executive Council, but rather was a purely personal gimmick of the Legion's publicity-seeking then State Commander, Irving Breakstone. It almost was repudiated at the State Convention early this month, and probably will be by the new administration elected then.

This instance undoubtedly was one of the things which prompted the vigorous denunciation of the Fund For The Republic by the Legion's National Commander, Seaborn Collins, in which he urged that all Legion Units avoid any association whatsoever with the Fund or any of its projects.

MANY OTHER activities of the Fund have contributed to the swelling chorus of criticism of it, such as its special $5,000 award to Plymouth Meeting, Pa., for hiring and refusing to fire its Fifth Amendment librarian, Mrs. Mary Knowles; disclosure that it presently is shopping around and offering financial inducements for someone to conduct twin Fund-Style "studies" of the American Legion itself and of the Federal Bureau of Investigation; and its infiltration, approaching virtual capture, of the so-called Hennings Senate subcommittee which also is investigating the status of civil rights.

It is likely that the average American wonders what causes an organization like the Fund For The Republic to follow such questionable and suspect courses. The answer may be found in the character and background of its three top officials.

Number one is the Chairman of its Board of Directors, Paul Gray Hoffman, Chairman of Studebaker-Packard, long known as an internationalist do-gooder who delights in personal publicity furthering his reputation as a liberal.

Number two is its President, Robert M. Hutchins, who hardly needs an introduction, because of his 25-year record of controversy. HUMAN EVENTS already has recalled to mind his 1949 testimony before an Illinois legislature committee which was investigating subversive influences at the University of Chicago, of which he then was Chancellor; how he blandly said he did not believe Communism represented any "clear and present danger," did not believe the Communist Party was subversive, was not concerned about possible Red influences on his faculty.

Since Hoffman brought him in to head the Fund in June, 1954, Hutchins has spent most of his time at the palatial swimming-pool-equipped Pasadena, Calif., mansion originally purchased by the Fund for use as its headquarters. Money being no object, however, its main administrative offices since have been transferred to New York, where day-to-day operations now are conducted.

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That move has served to raise the relative importance of official number three — the Fund's little-known Vice President, 44-year-old W. H. "Ping" Ferry, who actually controls most of the Fund's operations and conjures up projects which he ultimately presents to the Hutchins ivory tower in Pasadena for perfunctory approval: the process necessitates much cross-country travel, but again, money is no object. "Ping" Ferry is the son of the former Board Chairman of the Packard Motor Company who still regards his leftist-thinking offspring as an errant problem child about whom he does not quite know what to do.

A Dartmouth graduate, "Ping" worked on newspapers and as a teacher; with the notorious International Labor Organization and then with the unlamented OPA. In 1945, he became public relations director for the late Sidney Hillman's CIO-PAC, which soon died of asphyxiation from its self-generated noxious odors.

Then, with a New York public relations firm, he became a speech writer for Henry Ford II and, as *Time* Magazine once put it, did "think" work for the Ford Foundation. Hutchins brought him into the Fund a year ago, and he is reported to have told several friends that he considers his primary task there to be to convince the public that there never has been any Communist menace domestically, that the whole threat is a myth dreamed up by reactionary elements.

This, then, is the man who for practical purposes is spending the Fund's tax-free $15,000,000 — dollars which supposedly are being spent for the public welfare, for philanthropic educational purposes.

THE FUND is vulnerable because of its involvement with the name "Ford." Ford Motor Company officials and all members of the Ford family have the quaint notion that it is a fine thing if the company makes profits; to do so, it must sell Ford cars. The Ford Foundation says that having made its $15,000,000 grant, it has no further connection with the Fund For The Republic; but the Fund is the Foundation's baby, and in the public mind the Foundation must assume a parent's responsibility. If the chorus of Fund criticism and resultant distaste continues to swell, it might well reach the point of a substantial refusal to buy Ford products.

This possibility is a definite worry to company officials, and they are reportedly seeking to persuade Henry Ford II to make some sort of public statement specifically repudiating, or at least dissociating himself from, the Fund. Such action, still not agreed to by Ford, would go far toward discrediting the Fund, as a parent's disowning of a wayward child discredits the child.

The day before the Foundation's huge grant to the Fund was announced in February, 1953, the House of Representatives appropriated $300,000 for its Un-American Activities Committee. The 24-hours-later announcement prompted one House member to comment ruefully: "We appropriate $300,000 to fight Communism, they appropriate $15,000,000 to fight us."

History has shown the reality of his frustrations, a feeling shared by millions of Americans.

RUSSELL TURNER, a Washington, D. C., newsman for 22 years, is staff assistant to Fulton Lewis, Jr., national radio commentator. Mr. Turner also serves as Washington correspondent for *Partners,* Chicago monthly magazine covering the field of labor-management relations.

Additional copies of the 4-page Article: 6 for $1; 10 for $1.50; 50 for $5.50; 100 for $10; 500 for $20; 1,000 for $30.
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